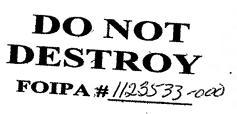
CONFIDENTIAL

THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

SEPTEMBER 1955 -- DECEMBER 1955





100-10092-200

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE John Edgar Hoover, Director

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> CONFIDENTIAL 56 B 134

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PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative Communist publications to indicate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the major current issues of national and international significance.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspapers, <u>Daily Worker</u> and <u>The Worker</u>, as well as the periodicals, <u>Political Affairs</u>, <u>Masses & Mainstream</u> and <u>Party Voice</u>, the latter being the organ of the New York State Communist Party.



SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

During the period from September through December 1955, the line of the Communist Party, USA, was characterized by persistent attempts to foster "the Geneva spirit." Although forced to concede that the conference of Foreign Ministers in Geneva was unsuccessful, the Party re-emphasized the possibility of peaceful coexistence between the United States and the Soviet Union. The foreign policy of the United States, allegedly dominated by "Wall Street," was blamed for the increased tension between Israel and the Arab States and for the failure to resolve the problem of German reunification.

The Party also reiterated its demands for increased disarmament; for the outlawing of nuclear weapons; for the admission of Communist China into the United Nations; for the expansion of East-West trade; and for an increase in the exchange of delegations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Party propaganda claimed that the United States is opposing the efforts of colonial nations to gain their complete independence, while the Soviet Union was pictured as supporting the principle of self-determination for all nations. The Party also insisted that foreign aid to underdeveloped nations should be limited to economic assistance and that expenditures for military bases in foreign nations should be discontinued.

In the field of domestic affairs, the Communist Party, USA, gave extensive publicity to the case of Emmett Louis Till, teen-age Chicago Negro whose body was found in a river in Mississippi. The Party demanded Federal intervention by the Department of Justice and the ArmedForces to end the "reign of terror" in the Southern States, particularly in Mississippi. It also called for the enactment of civil rights legislation to protect the rights of Negroes in the South.

The merger of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) was viewed most favorably by the Party. This merger gave the Party an occasion to intensify its demands for increased political activity by the labor movement, to insure the defeat of the "antilabor" Republican Administration in the 1956 elections. The AFL-CIO was urged to fight for higher wages and shorter hours and to elect more women to union offices. The Party also repeated its claims that the current prosperity is based on spending for armaments and that the agricultural crisis is steadily worsening.

The Party noted some improvement in the fields of civil liberties and academic freedom. At the same time, however, it continued its demands for the repeal of all state and Federal anti-Communist legislation and for the granting of amnesty to all imprisoned Communists.

The ruling of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals that the United States Coast Guard Screening Program violates the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment was hailed by the Party as casting doubt on the legality of the entire Federal security program. The policy of the United States Army of giving dishonorable discharges based on preinduction activity was also criticized by the Party.

Communist appeals for increased Federal aid to alleviate the educational "crisis" were coupled with insistence that these funds should be diverted from military appropriations. The rise in juvenile delinquency was described as a social rather than an individual problem, and the Party's program to cope with this issue called for improved housing, recreational facilities and social welfare services.

B. Conclusions

- 1. Barring unexpected developments, no major changes in the Party line on international affairs are anticipated. This means, in short, that the Party can be expected to continue its demands for what would amount to a complete reversal of American foreign policy and a virtual capitulation to every proposal offered by the Soviet Union to relieve international tensions.
- 2. The impending ruling of the United States Supreme Court on the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act of 1950 is of crucial importance to the future of the Communist movement

in the United States. The Party can, therefore, be expected to intensify its propaganda against this and other Federal and state anti-Communist legislation.

- 3. The Party can be expected to continue its attempts to capitalize on the Till case, in view of the widespread protests which this issue has evoked.
- 4. Since 1956 is an election year, continued criticism of the present Administration is anticipated. While Party propaganda will, in all probability, call for the eventual formation of a new third party, no organizational steps toward this end by the Party are expected.
- The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco recently ruled that the United States Coast Guard Screening Program violates the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment. This ruling can be expected to give added impetus to the Party's demands for the complete abolition of the entire Federal security program.
- 6. Indications are that the Communist Party, USA, plans to conduct its activities more openly in the future in an effort to regain some of the influence it has lost during recent years. For this reason, the Party can be expected to minimize its ideological and tactical differences with other organizations, and to emphasize specific issues which have a broad popular appeal, e.g., peace, disarmament, employment, economic security, civil liberties, Negro rights, taxes, et cetera.



I. FOREIGN POLICY

- 1. "The Geneva spirit" is still alive in spite of the efforts of "Wall Street" to minimize its influence.
- 2. Peaceful coexistence between the United States and the Soviet Union is not only possible but essential.
- 3. The foreign policy of the United States is intensifying the cold war and increasing the possibility of outright warfare.
- 4. The Big Four Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva was unsuccessful because of the intransigence of the United States on the question of German rearmament.
- 5. Tension between Israel and the Arab States can be resolved only through a collective security arrangement which will include the Soviet Union.
- 6. The insistence of the United States on rearming Germany is preventing German reunification.
- 7. The United States should recognize the Communist Government in China, and China should be admitted to the United Nations.
- 8. Foreign aid should be limited to economic assistance for under-developed nations.
- 9. There is need for an increase in East-West trade and the interchange of delegations between the United States and the Soviet Union.



SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. The Geneva Spirit

"The Geneva spirit is good for America. Disarmament is good for America providing it is world-wide disarmament, and providing it is accompanied by a strict system of international control and inspection.

"America needs no brake on the Geneva spirit. On the contrary it must be spurred...."

Editorial, Daily Worker, September 8, 1955, p. 5.

"...the chief and most powerful forces opposing Geneva are the monopoly capitalists of the world, particularly those of Wall Street. They have strong interests against the perspective of peaceful co-existence, such as flowed from the Geneva conference. They require the cold war in order to enable them to reap fabulous profits from the roaring armament industries; they need the implied or actual threat of war...so that, with their huge armaments, they can intimidate the peoples of their own and other countries. Especially is all this true of American imperialism, with its objective of world domination. This domination program Washington has by no means abandoned, despite the fact that Geneva gave its war policies and perspectives a rude defeat."

William Z. Foster, "Post-Geneva: The Fight for Peaceful Co-Existence," Political Affairs, October, 1955, p. 5.

"But those who are trying to bury 'the spirit of Geneva' are gravediggers without a corpse. The spirit of Geneva, born of the historic summit conference in Geneva, is still very much alive."

Editorial, Daily Worker, November 17, 1955, p. 5.

2. Peaceful Coexistence

"As for the fundamental antagoisms between the capitalist and Socialist systems, these also are not basically war questions. There is no valid reason whatever why the various peoples cannot live in peace together, whether their social systems are Socialist or capitalist. The advance of Socialism, which is inevitable, in no sense necessitates war. On the contrary, the Socialist movement makes its greatest progress in the struggle against war and warmakers."

William Z. Foster, "Geneva: Background and Perspectives," Political Affairs, September, 1955, pp. 23, 24.

"Historical reasons always existed for friendship between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Their role as pioneers in national development, the character of their peoples, their national resources and the territorial sweep of their countries.

"To those similarities is now added another: Both possess thermo-nuclear weapons capable of reducing each other and the world to a shambles."

"...there is no other way for our own national development and that of other nations in the world except friendly relations with the leader of 900, 000, 000 inhabitants of the socialist world."

Editorial, Daily Worker, November 7, 1955, p. 5.

3. The Cold War

"...the Wall Street imperialists, whose spokesmen Eisenhower and Dulles are, are seeking to re-heat the cold war. And there are many

powerful elements in our country who would be only too happy to again hang a deadly war fear over the world."

"Re-kindling the cold war will re-awaken mass war fears, and there is also in it a potential increase in the danger of war....the gigantic American military machine and its super-aggressive foreign policies are a continuing war danger, and sharpening the cold war can only increase this danger..."

Daily Worker, December 23, 1955, p. 2.

4. Foreign Ministers' Conference

"The Geneva foreign ministers conference proved once again that the agonizing reappraisal of our foreign policy is long overdue. It should start with a recognition that the actual issues raised at Geneva will be settled when we drop the rigid and impossible demand that Germany shall be remilitarized and brought into a war alliance."

Editorial, Daily Worker, November 18, 1955, p. 5.

"The general inability of the conference to come to any measure of agreement upon other important questions turned around the general disagreement over Germany. The latter was caused because Mr. Dulles came forward with what amounted to his old pro-war policy regarding that country. He wanted to re-unite that nation upon the basis of its rearmament and its affiliation to aggressive NATO, under a reactionary German government."

"THE DISPUTE over the German question ruled out any serious agreement upon other major questions...."

Daily Worker, November 17, 1955, p. 3. "America's interest in the second Geneva remained what it was at the historic summit meeting—to end the whole cold war. This means the people will have to impose their will on those in Washington who want to maintain the atmosphere of the cold war."

The Worker, November 20, 1955, p. 13.

5. Tension in the Middle East

"There is a crisis in the middle east and fighting between the Arab states and Israel for two basic reasons:

"First, the State Department uses the power and strength of this nation to protect the steady flow of super-profits for U. S. Standard Oil firms in the Arab countries.

"Second the State Department is maneuvering to set up a Middle East anti-Soviet military bloc as a partner of NATO. That is why it has been sending arms to the Arab states all along."

> Editorial, Daily Worker, September 30, 1955, p. 5.

- "... The only hope for ending the tensions and the fighting in the middle east was through ending all efforts to use the middle east countries as pawns in the cold war.
- "...If the Arab countries detach themselves from the military blocs and alliances which the U.S. government has been building in the middle east, and if Israel takes an independent position in world affairs, then a real and lasting peace can come not only to Gaza but to the whole middle east."

Daily Worker, September 12, 1955, p. 5. "The fact is, there can be no solution to the Middle East crisis without the participation of the Soviet Union, which has indicated its readiness to help. Such participation should be welcomed by all who desire that peace which is needed for the Middle East and for the State of Israel in particular."

Editorial, Daily Worker, November 1, 1955, p. 5.

"...the hope for Middle East peace lies in Middle East collective security arrangement, including the Soviet Union."

Daily Worker, November 1, 1955, p. 1.

6. Reunification of Germany

"...German unification will be possible only if Germany is not remilitarized with its divisions becoming part of a military bloc...."

The Worker, October 2, 1955, p. 2.

"A re-militarized Germany would constitute a threat to the Soviet Union and this accounts for the steps the USSR is now taking.

"A re-militarized Germany would also be a threat to our country..."

"The Eisenhower Administration continues to sponsor the anti-American policy of arming West Germany and incorporating Wehrmacht divisions in NATO. America's interests require a united, democratic

Germany which will be allied with no military blocs to the detriment of world peace. That was the spirit of Geneva. That is the need of our country."

Editorial, Daily Worker, September 15, 1955, p. 5.

7. Diplomatic Recognition of China

"... How can we pretend that 600 million don't exist? American national interest, American prestige and American economic interests are hurt by refusal to recognize China."

"There are enormous markets for American goods waiting for us in the Far East. There is a real chance now to end all friction and tension in the Formosa Straits. We can attain those goals by making the Administration negotiate in the spirit of Geneva, not of the China Lobby."

> Editorial, Daily Worker, September 12, 1955, p. 5.

"Proof that the cold war has not yet been laid to rest is in the fact that China--with its one fourth of the human race, and despite the UN charter--will not be in its place at the UN assembly...."

The Worker, September 18, 1955, p. 5.

"...the most populous nation in the world, China, should get its rightful place in the world organization."

Editorial, Daily Worker, December 13, 1955, p. 5.

8. Foreign Aid

"THE AMERICAN people should support economic aid to the underdeveloped nations, in accordance with the development needs of these nations, and on terms favorable to them, this aid to be applied and supervised by themselves.

We should support these nations in their demands for non-interference in internal political affairs, in foreign policy, and in national economic development...."

"In their own right, the American people should strive to discontinue foreign spending for military bases and for the maintenance of puppet regimes, since these serve the aims of the cold war and the pro-colonial policies."

The Worker, December 11, 1955, p. 13.

9. East-West Trade

"MEANWHILE Great Britain, West Germany, France. Italy, Belgium and other West European countries have increased their trade with the Soviet Union. Most of these countries have also increased trade considerably with China; we conduct no trade at all with China."

"Some day the fact will be realized in Washington that the Soviet Union is not pressing for trade with the U.S. Every day that passes puts us in a worse position compared with our allies who are making trade deals left and right with the Soviet Union." "Our country above all needs such trade... And we'll need it much more when foreign markets become harder and harder to get."

Daily Worker, October 17, 1955, p. 5.

"...If the cold war were ended, and if trade barriers between our country and the Soviet Union were lifted, and if the USSR could buy machinery and other goods of its own choice here, they would also be happy to buy American rice. Right now 14 million hundredweight of rice is rotting in our warehouses. It is the biggest moral condemnation of capitalism since we ploughed under those little pigs in the midst of starvation."

Daily Worker, November 30, 1955, p. 5.

10. Increased East-West Contact

"Also there needs to be the most rapid and extensive exchange of East-West cultural, labor, and farm delegations. Let us send to the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies the best of our American democratic culture and heritage—our best athletes, orchestras, artists, scientists, writers, trade unionists, etc., along the lines of the farm and chess delegations. We have much to teach and learn from each other."

National Committee, CPUSA, "The Meaning of Geneva," Political Affairs, September, 1955, p. 7.

II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

- 1. Current prosperity is dependent on military spending.
- 2. Taxes of the low-income group should be lowered.
- 3. The decade of "intellectual terrorism" which followed World War II is coming to an end largely as a result of the Geneva Conference.
- 4. Paul Robeson should be granted a passport.
- 5. Continuous congressional investigations have given rise to "public revulsion."
- 6. The Federal security program should be abolished.
- 7. The authority of Vice-President Nixon must not be increased while President Eisenhower is ill.
- 8. The "giveaway" of the country's natural resources should be investigated by Congress.
- 9. A major program of public works should be instituted.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. False Prosperity

"MONDAY'S STOCK MARKET crash to the tune of a \$14,000,000,000 drop sent shivers through America. It had the closest resemblance to the disastrous Oct. 28, 1929, when stock values dropped a total of \$16,000,000,000 and America dived into the greatest crisis in its history.

"...The President's heart attack induced an economic heart attack...."

"Much of the economy rests on anticipated continuance of military orders."

"U.S. economy is geared to 'anti-Communism' rather than to the realities of economic science."

Editorial, Daily Worker, September 29, 1955, p. 5.

"...acute crisis has been delayed in recent years largely through government policies in the interests of big business. Such government intervention has helped guarantee the largest profits in history, with over \$40 billion predicted for 1955 alone. At the same time it has laid the basis for placing the full load of future crisis on the backs of the people...."*

Celeste Strack, "Economic Laws and 'Anti-Depression' Programs," Political Affairs, November, 1955, p. 12.

"...the American economic and political system is becoming more and more entangled in the coils of the fatal general crisis of the world capitalist system. The current American 'prosperity' is based upon sand...."

> William Z. Foster, "Thoughts on Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's Autobiography," Political Affairs, December, 1955, p. 24.

2. Tax Reduction

"The question of taxes has been more of a political football between the two parties than any of the other issues. The annual consequence has been substantial concessions for the corporations and the rich; nothing for the low-incomed people.

*Underlined words are italicized in the original.

"This has been particularly true since the Eisenhower administration took office..."

Editorial, Daily Worker, December 20, 1955, p. 5.

"...the cry for tax reductions for the low-income families will gather in volume, especially as corporation profits soar, and as the gap between wages and consumer prices is more seriously felt."

Albert E. Blumberg and Rob Hall, "Congress and '56," Political Affairs, December, 1955, p. 8.

3. McCarthyism

"NEVER in the entire history of the U.S. has there been such an onslaught against the popular liberties and constitutional rights of the workers and the whole American people as during the years since the end of World War II in 1945....

"Taking advantage of existing world tension, and as a means to increase that tension, the reactionaries have outdone themselves in terrorizing the people by various types of McCarthyite practices and legislation."

> Daily Worker, November 9, 1955, p. 5.

"DURING these years of reaction, the chauvinists and the cold war patrioteers have sought to identify the national interest with their own programs, redefining 'loyalty,' 'patriotism,' and 'Americanism' along blatantly jingoist lines. People were sent to jail, and others still face that prospect, as a result of thought-control Smith Act trials and committee inquisitions in the name of the same 'national interest,' and a reign of intellectual terrorism was let loose against all who identified the national interest with peace and the welfare of the people...."

James S. Allen, "Democratic Revival and the Marxists," Masses & Mainstream, October, 1955, p. 7.

"We are now in the opening phase of a great popular reaction against McCarthyism. Undoubtedly, the stubborn fight of the American people—not the least of which was the valiant battle of the Communists to maintain and extend democracy—helped bring this about. But the decisive element without question was the registering of the ascendancy of the forces for peace at Geneva..."

"From this no one should draw any easy conclusions that the Bill of Rights is back in full operation... No, the Geneva spirit has by no means changed the Department of Justice or the judicial bureaucracy, despite its vast impact on the world."

Simon W. Gerson, "The Battle Against the McCarran Act," Political Affairs, October, 1955, pp. 19, 20.

4. Passport Restrictions

"It is good that our State Department—under the heading of east-west contacts—is lifting passport restrictions on travel to the Soviet Union and eastern Europe. (But why doesn't it end its scandalous policy of refusing to give a passport in the first place to Americans like Paul Robeson?) Any progress in east-west contacts is all to the good...."

Editorial, Daily Worker, November 2, 1955, p. 5.

5. Congressional Investigations

"For years now, Washington has been the scene of almost continuous witchhunt hearings by one Congressional committee or another: the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Senate Internal Security Committee and, of course, the McCarthy (now the McClellan) Subcommittee on Government Operations. These hearings have grabbed off the headlines year after year and created so much havoc that finally there was a public revulsion against the sordid proceedings and procedures."

Editorial, Daily Worker, November 16, 1955, p. 5.

6. Federal Security Program

"FROM THE LOYALTY PROGRAM came the Attorney General's 'subversive list' which, in turn, spawned the blacklist in private industry, especially in the entertainment field. States, cities and towns got into the act of passing 'anti-subversive' laws and ordinances so that citizens could be tried, convicted and punished three times for substantially the same offense...."

Editorial, Daily Worker, November 22, 1955, p. 5.

7. President Eisenhower's Illness

"...it is also understandable that there should be deep concern everywhere for how the President's illness might affect the work of fulfilling the promise of Geneva....the question of the possible role of Vice-President Nixon rightly causes grave misgivings." "Vice-President Nixon--and along with him the Knowlands, Dirksens and McCarthys--must not be permitted to exploit the present situation in order to assume greater power over the affairs of the country."

Editorial, Daily Worker, September 27, 1955, p. 5.

8. Conserve Natural Resources

"End the Giveaway: An offensive through Congressional investigations as well as legislation to stop the handouts to wealthy corporations of our natural resources and national facilities."

Albert E. Blumberg and Rob Hall, "Congress and '56," Political Affairs, December, 1955, p. $\overline{12}$.

9. Public Works Program

"...the type of aid that is needed is one which will result in raising consumer purchasing power plus the construction of such socially useful projects as hospitals, schools, roads and dams to prevnet floods. Such 'New Dealish' steps are needed to be prepared and won for the country as a whole..."

The Worker, November 13, 1955, p. 7.

III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

- 1. The merger of the AFL and the CIO will strengthen the labor movement in the United States.
- 2. The AFL-CIO should increase its political activity in the 1956 elections.
- 3. The Republican Administration is continuing its attacks on the labor movement.
- 4. Legal action against the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America (UERMWA) Independent, and the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers (IUMMSW) Independent, is an attack on the entire labor movement.
- 5. Excessive corporation profits and increased productivity through automation, should encourage the labor movement to fight for higher wages and shorter working hours.
- 6. There should be an exchange of labor delegations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. AFL-CIO Merger

"THE EYES of all America are upon the AFL-CIO merger convention....

"The working people and all genuine believers in progress greet it with warmth and hope. They expect it to bring tremendous strength and vigor to the cause of the common people." "The continued exclusion of the United Mine Workers and the progressive-led independent unions from the merged labor movement will not sit well with the rank and file workers of the unions. It means a continuation of division. It is also exclusion of the unions that, in the eyes of a great many workers, are most symbolic of the fighting spirit of the '30s when the great march ahead was made possible by a left-to-right unity."

Editorial, <u>Daily Worker</u>, December 5, 1955, pp. 1, 5.

"IT IS CLEAR, therefore, that the left and progressive forces should have a two-phased policy towards the merger. First, they should heartily support the fusion itself and strive to give it a progressive program—in the sense of a more active fight for better wages and living conditions for the workers, in cultivating an active campaign of organizing the unorganized on a broad scale, in guaranteeing the economic, political, social, and trade unions rights of Negro workers, in developing a program of political activity in line with the strength and needs of the working class, and in aggressively cultivating a program of world peace and peaceful coexistence.

"Second, the left and progressive forces should also make a most vigorous fight to democratize the present ultra-conservative constitution proposed for the merged organization...It is imperatively necessary, therefore, that the draft constitution be systematically democratized, looking forward generally to giving the rank and file representation in the conventions, leadership, and policy-making of the organizations. Organized labor in this country needs not only unity, but unity based upon a progressive economic and political program and upon trade union democracy. Only if these facts are borne in mind can the new trade union merged achieve its great potentialities."

Daily Worker, December 1, 1955, p. 5.

2. Labor's Independent Political Activity

"...The American labor movement has far too long, dragged tamely after the two bourgeois political parties and their reactionary leaders

and programs. If the labor movement, during the coming period, lives up to the spirit of the Geneva conference, by fighting against the warmongers and arms profiteers, one of the sure results in the near future will be a substantial increase in independent working class political action; first within the Democratic Party (as outlined in the program of the Communist Party) and ultimately in the direction of creating a great labor-farmer party, worthy of a labor movement with some 16,000,000 members."

William Z. Foster, "Post-Geneva: The Fight for Peaceful Co-Existence," Political Affairs, October, 1955, p. 14.

"...The role of the monopoly government and particularly the policies of this Administration demand a strengthening of the independent political role of labor, and require that the labor movement throws its full weight into the 1956 election struggles."

Frank Brewster and Mark Logan, "Automation: Abundance For Whom?," Political Affairs, November, 1955, p. 42.

"...it is clear that from now on the idea of a labor party must be included along with all other thoroughly American means which labor has to use in order to achieve thoroughly American goals."

Daily Worker, December 14, 1955, p. 4.

3. Republican Administration Is Antilabor

"Since the 'Cadillac Cabinet' took over there has been an effort to revive the 'good old' union-busting days. We have seen it in the numerous

strikes dragging out for months, in the mass recruiting of scabs, increased use of armed guards and more provocation of violence...."

The Worker, October 16, 1955, p. 6.

"...The fundamental aim of the Republican party up until 1945 was to prevent the enactment of New Deal legislation and since 1945 to replace such measures with bonanzas for Big Business and with frankly repressive anti-labor laws..."

Editorial, The Worker, November 27, 1955, p. 5.

"... Labor has to launch an offensive against the Republicans to expose completely and convincingly the pro-big business and anti-labor nature of the Eisenhower regime."

Daily Worker, October 31, 1955, p. 5.

4. Decertifying Unions

"ATTORNEY GENERAL Brownell's move to 'decertify' the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers under the Butler law, passed 17 months ago was hardly a surprise. But the timing of Brownell's move dramatizes clearly the basically strikebreaking nature of the statute under which a union can be barred by the Subversive Activities Control Board as a representative of workers.

"Brownell's first action under the law, aimed at the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers earlier this year, came just as that union was in the midst of its big copper strike. The UE, simultaneously with the IUE, is waging a strike against Westinghouse Electric."

"...There is a far-reaching sinister conspiracy against labor in Brownell's move, and it should be fought with labor's full strength."

Editorial, Daily Worker, December 22, 1955, p. 5.

5. Corporation Profits

"LATEST REPORTS, showing 1955 will mark an all-time high for corporation profits, give clear evidence that recent price hikes in steel, auto, oil, telephone and other fields were not necessary to 'compensate' for wage raises, as claimed by the corporations."

"A glance at the list of profit reports for the first nine months... makes the wage raises won in 1955 look small indeed."

The Worker, November 6, 1955, p. 2.

"You need only take a glance through the Wall Street Journal of recent days to recognize that GM* pretty much reflects the trend for the big corporations in general. The bigger they are, the closer they come to GM's profit showing. There is, unquestionably, a boom for the rich."

Editorial, Daily Worker, October 28, 1955, p. 5.

6. Automation

"... Not all labor organizations have begun to shape policies to meet the challenge of automation, and only a few trade unions have as yet

*General Motors Corp.

adopted a militant program based on a class awareness of their membership's best interests."

"Nevertheless, the widespread fear and dissatisfaction of the great mass of rank and file trade unionists is breaking through and finding expression in the policies of some unions...."

"Coming more and more to the fore in all these programs is the struggle for the shorter work week with no reduction in pay. This issue gives every promise of emerging in the near future as the number-one demand of the labor movement..."

Frank Brewster and Mark Logan,
"Automation: Abundance for Whom?,"
Political Affairs, November, 1955, pp. 39,
40.

7. Higher Wages and Shorter Hours

"The shorter workweek must become labor's No. 1 demand if it is to be fortified to some degree against another slump."

Editorial, Daily Worker, September 5, 1955, p. 5.

"The labor movement should continue to press for its program, combat complacency on the economic front and fight all the harder for the shorter workweek and higher wages. It should never be forgotten that every bust in history crashed down upon the people when it was least expected."

Editorial, Daily Worker, October 28, 1955, p. 5.

"... The basis is becoming clearly laid for more substantial demands on the employers in wages and hours. When the final 1955 profit figures hit the public eye, labor's case will be stronger than ever."

The Worker, November 6, 1955, p. 2.

8. Exchange of Labor Delegations with the USSR

"One immediate task of no little importance in the struggle to realize the peace perspectives of Geneva is to send an American labor delegation to the USSR to establish contact with the great trade unions of that country...Politicians, newspapermen, actors, businessmen, scientists, farmers, women, clerics, and the youth are sending one delegation after another, to improve cultural and political relationships between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. It is intolerable, therefore, that organized labor should fail to fulfill its progressive peace role in this general respect. Like the workers in other countries are doing, the organized trade unionists in this country should also send their delegations to the U.S.S.R. and invite the Soviet workers to have their union representatives visit this country."

William Z. Foster, "Post-Geneva: The Fight for Peaceful Co-Existence," Political Affairs, October, 1955, p. 13.

IV. AGRICULTURE

- 1. The crisis in agriculture has assumed "tragic proportions."
- 2. The Republican Administration is attempting to eliminate the small farmers.
- 3. Farmers should unite in political action to gain 90 percent of parity.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. The Farm Crisis

"While the decline in farm prices began under the Truman administration, it has assumed tragic proportions for many small farmers, dairy farmers, chicken farmers and owners of small cotton and tobacco acreage in the South, under the Eisenhower-Benson regime."

Daily Worker, September 28, 1955, p. 4.

"...Since February, 1951 farm prices have declined by almost 25 percent, while the prices of the goods which the farmer must buy, and the taxes he must pay, have remained at about the same level."

"The result has been a widening gap between the prices of the things he needs to farm, and to sustain his family, and the prices of the goods he sells.

"Savings are withdrawn from the bank and consumed to keep family and farm going, repairs to machinery, equipment and structures are

permitted to go by the board, and family expenditures are drawn in wherever possible."

"... The real program of the Administration, which has been stated repeatedly in less publicized channels, is to let the mounting crisis cut down the number of farmers."

The Worker, November 6, 1955, p. 3.

2. Republican Farm Program

"Meanwhile Agricultural Secretary Ezra T. Benson has been making a statement daily either denying there is anything wrong with the agricultural situation or promising firm steps to correct it. Benson, viewing the problem from the aspect of the big farmer, appears to be satisfied. The big farmer is growing bigger, while the small farmer is being wiped out. Once wiped out, Benson argues, the small man is no longer a farmer and his problems are no longer part of the agricultural picture."

Daily Worker, September 20, 1955, p. 2.

"...Benson's position has been a do-nothing one on the grounds that small farmers who should be eliminated are being driven out. Hence their problems are no longer the concern of the Agriculture Department. The big farmers are geeting along in Benson's view, and so there is no crisis in agriculture.

"Eisenhower's Big Business cabinet is not opposed to this view...."

The Worker, October 30, 1955, p. 4.

3. Fixed Price Supports

"An ear to the ground will pick up some highly-significant rumblings across Illinois and throughout the Midwest. Farmers are in a tightening economic squeeze--and the outcry from them is becoming increasingly political.

"The dissatisfaction with the Eisenhower administration's farm program is clearly audible...."

The Worker, November 20, 1955, p. 3.

"A true program for rewarding abundance would be one that would stimulate consumption among the many millions of Americans who do not get enough to eat--through food-stamp plans, expanded school lunches, etc. --as well as one which would share our abundance with the hundreds of millions of peoples throughout the world living on a starvation level.

"Farmers of all organizations and political views need to unite their ranks now for a bitter congressional battle next year around the 90 percent price support program pledged by the Democratic leaders. Their interests would be further advanced, however, if abundance were truly rewarded through a program subsidized directly by the government."

> The Worker, September 25, 1955, p. 10.

V. COLONIALISM

- 1. The nations of Asia, Africa and the Middle East are in the process of gaining their complete independence.
- 2. The "collapse" of colonialism is accelerating the ultimate defeat of capitalism.
- 3. The United States is opposing the attempts of colonial nations to achieve their independence as part of its attempt to dominate the entire world.
- 4. The Soviet Union has consistently supported all attempts of colonial nations to gain their freedom.
- 5. The United States holds Puerto Rico as a "colony," and controls most Latin-American nations.
- 6. The overseas colonies of France, Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands and Portugal are demanding the right of self-determination.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. The Revolt Against Colonialism

"Tremendous changes have taken place on the continent of Asia since the end of the Second World War. Colonial and semi-colonial countries inhabited by hundreds of millions of people have liberated themselves from foreign domination for the first time in history.... Such a development signifies a real change in the world relationship of forces, a change in favor of the forces of peace and national independence...."

The Worker, November 6, 1955, p. 5. "All Asia and much of Africa is now surging with revolt against the imperialism which has held and oppressed their countries for so long. The Arab countries of the Middle East, despite their reactionary governments and the fact that they are maneuvering unscrupulously with the major imperialist powers—Britain, France, Spain, Belgium, Portugal and the U.S.—are also historically a part of the great Asian-African revolt against imperialism...."

Daily Worker, October 12, 1955, p. 4.

2. Significance of the Revolt Against Colonialism

"The general significance of this situation is that the vast colonial and semi-colonial system of capitalism, which originally embraced the majority of mankind, is being hopelessly shattered. People's China which battered its way completely out of the maze of imperialist controls, is pointing the general way that this vast colonial revolt is heading."

"...colonialism is one of the foundation pillars of world capitalism and imperialism. The growing collapse of colonialism is, therefore, increasing the general crisis of capitalism and thereby hastening it on to its inevitable doom."

Daily Worker, November 30, 1955, p. 2.

3. The United States Supports Colonialism

"... Why should the United States find itself in a dilemna on the colonial issue... The reason, of course, is quite obvious: The United States, despite its various anti-colonial pretenses and the deep anti-colonial sentiments among Americans, has consistently supported the colonial powers

against the peoples seeking freedom. Whether it be France in Morocco and Algeria, Holland in Indonesia, or Britain in Cyprus and Kenya, the United States has thrown its support to the colonial powers."

The Worker, October 23, 1955, p. 5.

"...the most disgraceful aspect of the Eisenhower Administration's foreign policy is its support of every racist and colonial power in the world-from Asia to Africa to Latin America."

Editorial, Daily Worker, December 6, 1955, p. 5.

"AMERICAN IMPERIALISM as one of its key objectives in its drive for world mastery for Wall Street, has been trying to reverse this general anti-colonial revolution.... Both the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations had a two-pronged policy in this respect. On the one hand, they tried, as best they could, to stamp out, in one way or another, the increasing revolts of colonial and semi-colonial peoples; and on the other hand, they sought to reduce the whole capitalist and socialist world under their own domination. They even dreamed of making satellite countries not only of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, and of the socialist nations but also of dominating the other capitalist powers, Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Italy, etc."

Daily Worker, November 30, 1955, p. 2.

4. The Soviet Union Opposes Colonialism

"But the record of votes in the United Nations will show that ever since the first UN meeting the Soviet Union has voted on the side of colonial people whenever a colonial issue came before the world organization. The record will also show that whereas the U.S. used to abstain on the issue of whether UN should merely agree to discuss colonial questions, at this session, it is the U.S. delegation which switched and voted against the mere right of discussion."

Daily Worker, October 11, 1955, p. 5.

5. Colonialism in Latin America

"Castillo Armas has been under fire in his own country* and throughout Latin America and even here. The fact is, since he machine-gunned his way to office as an agent for United Fruit Co., his regime has been steeped in scandal....

"Castillo Armas is typical of the dictators foisted on so many Latin American countries by our State Department and Wall Street corporations and investment houses...."

Editorial, Daily Worker, November 7, 1955, p. 5.

6. Colonialism in Puerto Rico

"Puerto Rican history since the 1870s reflects the restlessness of a people who have struggled against colonial regimes under different modes of imperialist governments but all brutal. The present is worst of all."

"Puerto Rico at present is a most subjected colony. It cannot have trade or any other kind of relation with any part of the world. Puerto Rico does not enjoy the right to determine anything about its products or its

*Guatemala.

customs house or the ruinous competition by U.S. of some of its industries. In a word, Puerto Rico is still fully tied to the Wall Street yoke."

The Worker, September 25, 1955, pp. 11, 14.

7. The Colonial Powers

"...The French are sitting on a volcano in North Africa. So too for the British in Cyprus.

"And so too, for the white supremacists in the Union of South Africa, and also for the colonies of Belgium and Holland in Africa, and for Portugal's enclave in India (Goa) and for the French West African empire and for the enormous British colonial empire in Africa as well as in South East Asia.

"The people of Indonesia are not going to stand for Dutch rule of Irian, or West New Guinea.

"...the demand for realization of the United Nations charter promise of self determination will find stormy repercussions in the colonial world...."

Daily Worker, September 27, 1955, p. 5.

VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

- 1. The Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954, the Walter-McCarran Act, and the Taft-Hartley Act should be repealed.
- 2. Communists now in prison for violation of the Smith Act should be granted amnesty.
- 3. Legal action against Communist Party members should be discontinued until the United States Supreme Court rules on the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act of 1950.
- 4. The Steve Nelson case is an attack on all organized labor.
- 5. The use of confidential informants has fallen into disrepute.
- 6. The United States Supreme Court should review the "clear and present danger" doctrine in the light of the Geneva Conference.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Repeal All Anti-Communist Legislation

"Above all, Americans should join with the repeated position taken by numerous organizations in demanding repeal of the Hitlerite Smith and McCarran Acts. There must be an end to the snameful continuance of Smith Act arrests and an amnesty for all victims of the Smith Act and other anti-democratic legislation."

Daily Worker, December 5, 1955, p. 2. "...an end to Smith Act trials, to the Nazi-like McCarran Registration Act, to the racist McCarran-Walter Act, to the Taft-Hartley prosecution of labor leaders, to such union-busting moves as the indictment of the C.I.O. United Automobile Workers Union on trumped-up charges of violating election laws...."

Claude Lightfoot, "The Struggle to End the Cold War at Home," Political Affairs, September, 1955, p. 28.

- "...Our national concentration in the near future must be to defeat the several matters which await U.S. Supreme Court decisions. To repeat them, they are:
- "1. The Internal Security Act of 1950, commonly known as the McCarran Act and its revised version, the Communist Control Act of 1954.
 - "2. The membership section of the Smith Act.
 - "3. The case of Steve Nelson.

"Even within the framework of these points, top priority must be given in all districts, without exception, to the McCarran Act. Even in states where local Smith Act cases will take place shortly, this outlook must be established...."

Ibid., p. 44.

"... The defeat of these laws constitutes the main task of all democratic forces." *

Ibid., p. 34.

*Underlined words are italicized in the original.

"... save the Bill of Rights, free political prisoners, smash pending Smith Act and sedition act indictments, and illegalize all thought-control statutes."

Daily Worker, November 15, 1955, p. 7.

"... Attorney General Brownell should be called on to halt all pending 'conspiracy' and 'membership' trials and McCarran hearings until the Court acts..."

Editorial, Daily Worker, October 19, 1955, p. 5.

2. The Case of Steve Nelson

"Of all the labor frameup cases of this period, one of the very worst is that of Steve Nelson..."

"NELSON'S CASE is highly important, representing as it does an extreme danger to reaction in the courts. It is also doubly important in that the defense's challenge to the constitutionality of the Pennsylvania Sedition Law also carries with it a challenge to the legality of the many anti-labor laws that have been rammed through various state legislatures during the past ten years..."

"The Nelson case is now in a critical stage.... This should stimulate general activities in the defense, the collection of funds, the sending of protests to Attorney General Brownell and the like."

Daily Worker, November 9, 1955, p. 5.

3. Confidential Informants

"Also, as a result of pro-democratic pressures, the government's whole system of lies peddled about through its infamous informer system faces collapse..."

Claude Lightfoot, "The Struggle to End the Cold War at Home," Political Affairs, September, 1955, p. 29.

"...The anti-Communist myths which the Justice Department and perjurous paid informers and Judge Medina put over at the original Foley Square trial, and with which democracy suffered its greatest setback in 150 years, have now worn thin. The paid informer racket—to which Medina gave his judicial blessing—has now been exposed as a cruel and shameful hoax."

Daily Worker, November 15, 1955, p. 4.

4. United States Supreme Court

"IT IS PRETTY widely agreed that the U.S. Supreme Court's 1955-56 session, which opened yesterday, is going to have as great an impact on the nation's course as almost any other in our history.

"The cases to come before the court involve the constitutionality of the McCarran Act; the so-called 'Communist Control' Act of 1954; the Smith Act as it involves both the membership and 'conspiracy' sections; the numerous state sedition laws and the federal 'immunity' act nullifying the Fifth Amendment; sections of the Walter-McCarran Act; the nation's anti-trust laws, and other important issues.

Editorial, Daily Worker, October 4, 1955, p. 5.

"...certainly the fact of the Geneva Conference and the prospects for peace have impressed many with the need for the court taking a new look at the whole 'clear and present danger' theory under today's conditions.

"The Court should void the McCarran Act and throw out the Smith Act cases coming before it, clothed as they are in illegality from start to finish...."

Editorial, Daily Worker, October 19, 1955, p. 5.

VII. ARMED FORCES

- 1. Disarmament should be carried out under a system of mutual inspection.
- 2. The Communist nations have reduced their armed forces.
- 3. The manufacture, testing and use of nuclear weapons should be prohibited.
- 4. Military appropriations should be reduced and the savings used for a program of public works and improved social welfare services.
- 5. The Army security program operates in violation of the law.
- 6. The Coast Guard Screening Program is illegal.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Disarmament

"There are many and urgent tasks before the peace forces in this central job of easing world tensions and ending the cold war--such as the reunification of Germany, the reactivization of NATO and SEATO, the revitalizing of East-West trade, the re-establishment of cultural relations, the seating of People's China in the United Nations, the American evacuation of Germany, the dismantling of the U.S. world network of airbases, and numerous other problems.... The center of this whole complex of diplomatic problems is the general question of world disarmament. This is the key to nearly all the other issues. So long as the arms race is allowed to continue, the cold war will go on in one form or another....

"With the whole world crying out that an atomic world war is unthinkable and with even President Eisenhower conceding that the Soviet Government sincerely desires peace, it becomes increasingly difficult for the arms

^{*}Probably should read "the deactivization of NATO and SEATO."

monopolists (save for profit considerations) to find any convincing reasons why armaments should be continuously piled up in this and other capitalist countries. From now on the demand for a progressive reduction and eventual abandonment of the arms race will increase in this country, as elsewhere."

William Z. Foster, "Post-Geneva: The Fight for Peaceful Co-Existence," Political Affairs, October, 1955, p. 11.

"THAT OUR COUNTRY and the Soviet Union can find agreement on disarmament is shown by the friendly exchange between President Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Bulganin."

"... The issue when the foreign ministers get together in Geneva on Thursday is not inspection VERSUS disarmament. What's needed is disarmament TOGETHER with inspection."

Editorial, Daily Worker, October 24, 1955, p. 5.

"The irony is that the Soviet government had accepted the previous Western positions on limitation and reduction of arms. They have also said they would accept President Eisenhower's aerial survey proposal if it is combined with the actual arms reduction plans which had previously been agreed upon."

The Worker, October 30, 1955, p. 5.

2. Communist Nations Reduce Armed Forces

"...the government of the countries of people's democracy and Socialism, fully in harmony with the peace spirit of the world's working masses,

are showing their hearty support of Geneva both in words and in concrete actions. Not only has the U.S.S.R. lifted practically all travel restrictions and issued a sweeping amnesty for political prisoners, but it has also announced a cut of 640,000 in its armed forces, to go into effect at the end of this year. And most recently it has returned the Porkalla base to Finland, forty years before its lease ran out. In the same spirit, that the way to disarm is to disarm, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and Albania have also voluntarily decided to reduce their armies by 47,000, 34,000, 40,000, 18,000, 20,000 and 9,000 men respectively...."

"...Just at the time when the U.S.S.R. and other Socialist countries, upon their own initiative, are deeply cutting their armed forces, the Eisenhower Administration is letting it be known that, in any event, it intends to keep up and to increase its military strength...."

William Z. Foster, "Post-Geneva: The Fight for Peaceful Co-Existence," Political Affairs, October, 1955, pp. 7-8.

3. Outlaw Nuclear Weapons

"But the peoples of the world want none of the atomic bomb. Not only have they broken the Wall Street 'monopoly,' but they have effectively protested the use of the bomb in Korea and on a world scale. They let it be known categorically at Geneva that the atombomb cannot and must not be employed in war. In the oncoming period, they will surely prohibit both manufacture and use of this barbarous weapon. They will see to it that never again will any government head be able to perpetrate such a devastating outrage as Mr. Truman inflicted upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki and then boast about it."

Daily Worker, October 28, 1955, p. 5. "WE CHALLENGE anyone to give one good reason why our county* should not accept the offer of the Soviet Union that all test explosions of nuclear weapons be halted at once."

"Scientists have warned that unrestricted H-bomb explosions can harm not only the living but generations still unborn. Self preservation alone should lead us to accept the Soviet offer.

"But most important, such agreement of our country, Britain and the USSR, could be a big step toward the all-important goal of banishing the horror bombs altogether."

"Public opinion can be decisive in bringing about the agreement—an agreement which would help put our foreign policy in line with the spirit of Geneva."

Editorial, Daily Worker, December 1, 1955, p. 5.

4. Reduce Military Appropriations

"And it is widely agreed by the American people that the time is ripe for Big Four settlements through negotiations, a fact which makes our top-heavy arms budget not only an unnecessary burden but out of tune with the times."

Editorial, Daily Worker, October 19, 1955, p. 5.

"The relaxation of tensions in the world today is a fact, not a theory.

*Probably should read "country."

"Thus the demand for reduction in the military budget will increase, together with a demand for greater appropriations for schools, hospitals, roads and other public works so tragically neglected during the cold war years."

Albert E. Blumberg and Rob Hall, "Congress and '56," Political Affairs, December, 1955, p. 8.

"... Because of the current \$40,000,000,000 Eisenhower arms budget, expenditures for housing, agriculture and TVA have been cut, children must go to crowded schools, health facilities continue inadequate, many needed public works have been shelved, and taxes continue to take about a third of the earnings of low-income families."

National Committee, CPUSA, "The Meaning of Geneva," Political Affairs, September, 1955, p. 6.

"In the 1956 Presidential elections the question of liquidating the cold war, and with it the feverish, overswollen military build-up of the United States, should also be made a vital issue...."

William Z. Foster, "Post-Geneva: The Fight for Peaceful Co-Existence,"
Political Affairs, October, 1955, p. 14.

5. Army Security Program

"For when Federal Judge David N. Edelstein declared...that the U. S. Army was violating civil rights when it gave less than an honorable discharge to inductees because of previous, civilian associations, he was striking at a particularly nasty, Army version of the witch hunt. "It took the Army brass to figure out a routine whereby American boys could first be inducted into the Army and then, well in, be clobbered with the label 'security risk' and finally, be graduated out of the ranks with the damaging diploma marked 'Dishonorable Discharge.'"

"What the Army had been doing, in short, was violating the unmistakable spirit and letter of the law."

The Worker, December 18, 1955, p. 7.

"...a soldier, a former convict, who had been convicted of murder, arson or other crimes, had a better chance of getting an honorable discharge from the Army than one who was charged with belonging to an organization listed by the attorney general, the House Committee on Un-American Activities or Army G-2 (Intelligence) as 'subversive.'"

The Worker, November 27, 1955, p. 4.

6. U. S. Coast Guard Screening Program

"The vast Federal 'security' dragnet, which jeopardizes the jobs and freedoms of an estimated 10 million Americans, was struck a body blow today in a Federal court decision that waterfront 'screening' procedures are illegal.

"The 2 to 1 decision, rendered yesterday by the U. S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, held that hundreds of seamen and longshoremen were denied 'due process' when screened by the Coast Guard.

"The court specifically condemned the use of anonymous informers and the denial of the right to cross-examine informers."

"Since the Coast Guard's 'screening' procedures were patterned after the general Federal 'security' system, the entire system has been placed in doubt, by this ruling."

Daily Worker, October 28, 1955, pp. 1, 2.

7. Germ Warfare

"Army Secretary Wilber M. Brucker stamped an okay today on a report urging development of a complete family of chemical, biological and radiological weapons for 'actual use' if necessary. The report, drafted by a Civilian Advisory Committee, decried the public conception that such forms of warfare are 'horrifying in character,' and said they have a 'proper place' in military planning.

"Among other things, the committee proposed appointment of a top-level officer in the Chemical Corps to keep tabs on germ warfare developments and fit them into overall military planning."

> Daily Worker, November 7, 1955, p. 2.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

- 1. The case of Emmett Louis Till has horrified the entire world.
- 2. The Southern States, particularly, Mississippi, are undergoing a reign of terror.
- 3. Federal intervention, with the Armed Forces if necessary, is essential to preserve law and order in Mississippi.
- 4. Congress should enact antilynching, antipoll-tax and Fair Employment Practice legislation.
- 5. The Mississippi delegation should not be seated in Congress and Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi should be impeached.
- 6. No Federal funds should be given to public schools which are still segregated.
- 7. Discrimination against Negroes in industry and housing is still prevalent.
- 8. The deportation of Claudia Jones violates our democratic tradition.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. The Case of Emmett Louis Till

"A hideous crime--the brutal murder of a 14-year-old child--weighs heavy on the conscience of America, and shames our nation before the world."

"Emmett Louis Till was too young to vote; too young to join a trade union. Yet he is dead, murdered by the same forces that kill Negro voters and lynch Negro trade unionists."

Daily Worker, September 9, 1955, p. 2.

"GOOD PEOPLE everywhere--in America and throughout the world--feel a deep sense of horror over the outcome of the murder trial in Mississippi.

"The unspeakable kidnaping and lynching of a Negro child has now been capped with a 'white supremacy' verdict that makes the blood run cold."

Editorial, Daily Worker, September 26, 1955, p. 1.

"RACISM TRIUMPHED over justice yesterday when an all-white Leflore County, Miss., grand jury refused to indict J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant for the kidnapping last August of 14-year-old Emmett Louis Till. In this act and the acquittal of the same two men last Sept. 23 on a murder charge, the racists have emphasized that Negro citizens in Mississippi have no rights they are bound to respect--including the right to life itself."

Editorial, Daily Worker, November 10, 1955, p. 1.

"THE SAVAGE LYNCHING of the Till boy must be fought militantly. This has already been well begun by many demonstrations and other activities.... The whole American people should be aroused to the terrible outrage of this boy lynching. And, not the least important, this case should be publicized all over the world. Abroad it will get a powerful

response from the democratic peoples, who already thoroughly hate the U.S. jimcrow system, with all its oppression, exploitation, and murder."

Daily Worker, October 19, 1955, p. 5.

2. Reign of Terror in the South

"There is a virtual reign of terror now in much of the South and especially in Mississippi. It is condoned by the government and conducted by the same class of 'operators' responsible for the lynching system.

"It is a campaign of terror waged in desperation by those who seek to crush the Negro liberation movement, to stop labor organization in the South, to undo, by force and violence, a decision of the United States Supreme Court....

"The Dixiecrats are desperate because they know that the Negro people are absolutely determined to have their full rights and to have them now...."

Editorial, Political Affairs, October, 1955, pp. 1, 2.

3. Federal Intervention in Mississippi

"Local authorities cannot and will not cope with this emergency. The governor of the state, its district attorneys, sheriffs, senators and congressmen are all in league with the Dixiecrat conspirators who created the crisis.

"Only the immediate and firm intervention of the Eisenhower Administration can restore law, order, and decenecy to Mississippi. Only the federal government can bring to heel the racist insurrectionists who thumb their noses at the Constitution and Supreme Court of the United States."

"President Eisenhower must be compelled by popular pressure to throw the full moral, political and legal weight of the federal government on the side of justice, assuring the prompt punishment of the murderers of Emmett Till...."

Daily Worker, September 9, 1955, p. 4.

"The federal government--particularly Attorney General Herbert Brownell's Department of Justice--must step in without any further delay. The Federal Civil Rights Statute gives the Attorney General not only the right but the inescapable duty to intervene. Protection must be guaranteed the Negroes who are defying death in order to testify. Above all, the case of Emmett Till cannot be closed until justice is done and the full penalty enacted for cold-blooded, deliberate murder."

Editorial, Daily Worker, September 26, 1955, p. 5.

"But right now President Eisenhower's ears should ring with the demand from individuals and organizations across the country: Send federal troops to Mississippi! Halt the breakdown of law and order and the racist terror which has gripped that state!"

Editorial, Daily Worker, December 9, 1955, p. 5.

4. Political Action for Civil Rights

"The heart of the Till fight has increasingly been shifted to the arena of political action. As a result, it most probably will become, in one form or another, a vital issue in the 1956 elections....The basic steps in

the fight to arrest the anti-Negro terror in Mississippi must be along the lines of an all-out political mobilization..."

Edward E. Strong, "The Till Case and the Negro Liberation Movement," Political Affairs, December, 1955, p. 45.

"WHAT, then, should be the main demands?

- "1. Justice in the Till Case: Bryant and Milam must be convicted on the kidnaping charge now pending. They should be tried again for murder, and convicted, on the ground that Negroes were illegally excluded from the jury in Tallahatchie county. Failure to exact the full measure of justice in this case will be signal for a lynchers' holiday in the whole South.
- "2. Impeach Eastland: A movement should be started now to remove Mississippi Senator Eastland from the U.S. Senate. His public incitation to violation of the Supreme Court anti-segregation ruling constitutes violation of the Constitution which he is sworn to uphold.
- "3. Support Rep. Diggs' Initiative: The Congressman from Detroit has promised to challenge the seating of every Mississippi Congressman when the U.S. House of Representatives convenes in January on the grounds that Negroes, half the population of Mississippi, are systematically barred from the polls.
- "4. Pass the Civil Rights Bills: An anti-poll tax law, an FEPC law, a law to protect Negroes' voting rights in federal elections—all these are needed now.

"All social legislation in the next session of Congress should include provisions guaranteeing against segregation in any establishment, facility or activity which utilizes the federal tax money...."

"Strengthen the developing people's movement against lynching!...
Pass the anti-lynching bill! Pass civil rights legislation! End segregation!
Full equality for the Negro people—now!"

Daily Worker, October 5, 1955, p. 4.

5. Segregation in Education

"Most of the segregated schools which were declared illegal on May 17, 1954, and again on May 31, 1955, are still segregated. White supremacists, using legal technicalities and terror, including murder, have challenged the authority of the high court and federal law and order. Congress has refused to legislate in support of Supreme Court decisions, and the Department of Justice has kept its hands folded while the Constitution and the Supreme Court have been defied.

"...the situation demands a vigorous enforcement policy to carry it into effect."

Editorial, Daily Worker, November 9, 1955, p. 5.

"...no federal funds for segregated institutions and to states where there is official resistance to complying with the high court's segregated ruling."

The Worker, November 6, 1955, p. 7.

6. <u>Discrimination in Industry</u>

"THE NEGRO WORKERS in the oil, railroad, atomic energy plant construction, aircraft, air transport, textiles and other industries won't be forgetting, you can bet. For although these industries have their

hands knee-deep in the federal pockets, they remain lily-white in most operations above laborer. The exceptions are those plants and locations where trade unions have been able to negotiate hiring and upgrading of Negro workers."

Daily Worker, November 8, 1955, p. 5.

7. Discrimination in Housing

"Outside of discrimination in the field of employment and education covered in earlier articles, there is another big area in which minority groups--particularly Negroes--suffer grievous discriminations. This is in housing."

"The Negro people are those who have suffered worst from this enormous shortage of decent housing. Just as they are still generally the last to be hired and the first to be fired, so in general they still get the oldest, most rundown, housing in the least desirable sections of our cities and towns.

"Intrusion' of Negro families into white neighborhoods is still resented with threats of violence, stoning and riots. The Negro ghettos stand out like sore thumbs..."

The Worker, September 11, 1955, p. 15.

"It is clear that nothing short of immediate expansion of the now inadequate federal housing program will help ease the housing shortage. And this program has to have guarantees written into the law that there will be no discrimination as to occupancy."

Editorial, Daily Worker, September 7, 1955, p. 5.

8. Deportation of Claudia Jones

"Since 1951 the government of the United States, through its immigration officials, has been attempting to accomplish the deportation of Claudia Jones..."

"Claudia Jones was released from prison on Oct. 23. Since then she has not known a day free from harassment and petty persecution, despite the fact that she has been hospitalized, stricken down by the effects of a heart ailment which became aggravated while she was in prison.

"Now in this condition she is to be forcibly separated from her friends, uprooted from her home and familiar surroundings, in middle life driven out into a country she has never known, to begin life all over again without the health and youth that she gave in the service of the American people."

"... The Communist Party emphatically declares that this deportation is inconsistent with justice and our democratic tradition or our national interests."

Daily Worker, December 2, 1955, p. 2.

IX. EDUCATION

- 1. There is a critical shortage of schools and teachers in the United States.
- 2. Increased Federal aid for education is essential.
- 3. Funds should be diverted from military appropriations in order to improve educational facilities.
- 4. The White House Conference on Education was "rigged" by the Republican Administration.
- 5. While academic freedom has improved during the past year, further effort will be necessary to end "the cold war on the campus."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. The School Crisis

"...the nation's public schools are admittedly in a period of crisis.

"The first critical area is that of school construction. States and localities are unable to assume the load of enough new building to meet the soaring population of the nation. Federal funds are an absolute necessity.

"Secondly, there is the matter of desegregation in those states where the Supreme Court decision is being openly defied, sometimes with force and violence by state and local authorities.

"Thirdly, the teacher shortage which is also related to Federal funds for training schools and for raising teachers' salaries."

Editorial, The Worker, November 27, 1955, p. 5. "But low salaries, crowded classrooms, inferior school plants, and increased duties are not the only reasons for school shortage. Teachers have been the especial target of numerous inquisitions resulting in the resignation and dismissal of scores of creative and experienced teachers. Furthermore, the possibility of becoming involved in the type of witchhunt which has plagued teachers in recent years, added to the fear of being censured for what is being taught, has undoubtedly helped steer a number of qualified teacher graduates to other fields."

The Worker, September 11, 1955, p. 2.

2. Increased Federal Aid for Education

"... The very lack of federal aid to schools has condemned 2,000,000 of them * to conditions just a step above absolute illiteracy. By withholding aid, the federal government is exercising its power 'to dictate' that children will receive an inferior education. Similarly, by refusing to make desegregation a condition for continuing present federal aid, the Administration is exercising its power 'to dictate' that Negro children bear the brunt of denial in the education crisis."

Editorial, Daily Worker, November 30, 1955, p. 5.

"There is no immediate solution in sight to the school problems of this year or the next few years, without the enactment of a strong Federal aid program..."

The Worker, September 11, 1955, p. 2.

*i. e., children - ed.

3. The Military Budget and Education

"... There is a close link between the money available for education and the amounts spent for war preparations. If we continue to spend \$34,000,000,000 a year for armaments, there won't be money for education—at least not without further taxes and budget deficits.

"Those who demand heavy federal spending for education—and we are among them—will also need to insist that there be a cut in the vast armaments program...."

Editorial, Daily Worker, September 22, 1955, p. 5.

"The demand for Federal aid is on the lips of every responsible thinking person... The next step is to transfer the necessary billions of dollars from the cold war treasury and the useless stockpiling of armaments and atom bombs and to channel them into the only reserve that is our real security—our children's education and welfare."

The Worker, December 4, 1955, p. 13.

4. White House Conference on Education

"DESPITE ITS LACK of democratic procedure and the rigged nature of its structure, the White House Conference on Education had to reflect one of the main demands of parents and educators—federal aid. That the conference reflected this issue, though ever so faintly, is due to the participation and pressure of the labor and Negro delegates. Neither the representatives of organized labor nor of the Negro people would be gagged by the procedure which permitted no discussion."

"While the conference was forced to recognize the immense pressures for effective federal action to meet the school crisis, it hewed pretty close to the Administration line....

"The conference and its outcome only proves that the fight for federal aid to our ailing schools will have to be redoubled in the second session of the 84th Congress."

Editorial, Daily Worker, December 6, 1955, p. 5.

5. Increased Academic Freedom

"THE CAMPUSES of our nation were among the first to be hard hit by the pro-fascist offensive generated by the cold-war policy. Through every means, the bourgeoisie attempted to cut off the free inquiry and action which constitute the lift-blood of learning..."

"The past year and half, however, marked the beginnings of a new mood among students. It has been characterized by a sharp upsurge in student concern and activity over the major problems affecting students: McCarthyism, peace and civil rights....

"This does not mean that McCarthyism has been routed on the campuses. Not all sections are involved in this fight-back. Ideological confusion has by no means been dissipated. Teachers are still fired, Feinberg laws still exist, classrooms are still largely devoid of controversy, student associations are still proscribed.

"But the tide is beginning to turn...."

"Students' interest in Marxism had never really been squelched. Therefore, with the reverses suffered by McCarthyism there has been a marked increase in the willingness of students to listen to, discuss and debate with Marxists...."

"...But the new winds over the campus are refreshing and invigorating. They bring with them the promise of new successes in the fight for democratic rights. They open the way toward growing struggle for democratic resolutions to the deep crisis that engulfs American education. From all those who honor true learning, who work for peace and democracy, the campus struggles merit close attention and support."

Alita Letwin, "New Stirrings on the Campus," Political Affairs, October, 1955, pp. 54, 56, 57, 62.

6. End the Cold War on the Campus

"The inability of young people to learn freely in the poisoned atmosphere of today's colleges is a tragedy for the entire nation. It becomes the responsibility, therefore, of all the democratic forces who are devoted to learning and reason, who are concerned about the future of our nation's culture and intellectual traditions to radically change this situation. It becomes the responsibility and challenge of labor, and its allies, of Communists and progressives, to fight to end the cold war on the campus.

"This involves the fight to eradicate every aspect of the anti-intellectualism that the McCarthyites have fostered. It means fighting for the repeal of Feinberg-type legislation and the ending of the military stranglehold on education. It means defending the right of students to have exchange programs with other students of all countries. It means working for the end of all forms of racism on the campuses and for greater federal and local appropriations for the schools. The accomplishment of these aims depends in large part upon the extent to which the democratic forces view student struggles as their struggles."

Ibid., p. 61.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE AND RELIGION

- 1. There should be an increase in the interchange of scientific and cultural delegations between the United States and the Soviet Union.
- 2. American art is dominated by "big business."
- 3. Scientific progress in the United States has been delayed by "political repression."
- 4. Atomic energy should be used for peaceful purposes and not for the production of additional atomic weapons.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Cultural and Scientific Exchanges

"Clearly the conciliatory spirit of Geneva cannot be fulfilled without cultural interchange among nations, and particularly between the United States and the Soviet Union..."

"... The fact is that the existing barriers to cultural exchange have been mutually harmful. Both the Soviet Union and the United States will be stimulated and enriched, as they have been in the past, by free contact with the most vital elements in the cultural life of each country."

"... Horizons are changing now. Our best defense, the American people insist, is peaceful co-existence. We deeply share that interest with the Soviet people. It is to our advantage, no less than to theirs, to end the cold war in culture."

Samuel Sillen, "New Outlook for Cultural Exchange," Masses & Mainstream, September, 1955, pp. 9, 13.

"ONE THING should be made clear to those in high places in government and the press. If these cultural exchanges are going to mean anything for Americans a lot of twisted thinking on this subject must go.

"For one thing let's get. rid of the idea, expressed so often in our big newspapers, that we're participating in these cultural exchanges for the sole purpose of setting up a 'cultural offensive' against Soviet 'cultural propaganda.'"

"...To vulgarize cultural exchange by tying it to the cold war, as...newspapermen and government officials are suggesting that we do, is un-American and intolerable in the post-Geneva era that we're entering."

The Worker, October 9, 1955, pp. 8, 14.

"If Soviet musicians, dancers and other artists come here they'll come not only to perform but to learn. They'll study our stage techniques, our music and dancing and other arts to the end of improving their own work as artists and thereby enriching the lives of the people."

"...the doctors will rather spend their time in an effort to pool their knowledge and their skills to strengthen the battle to end heart disease, cancer, and the hundred and one other diseases that plague mankind.

"This is the hope and the promise in cultural and scientific exchange above and beyond the beginning of building world peace..."

Daily Worker, September 7, 1955, p. 7.

2. American Art

"...We labor here in the heart of a country that has taken art and made a mockery out of it, that has debased the written word as it has never been debased before, that has made of that bright electronic miracle, television, a medium so shameful that one is grateful for the darkness of the room in which it is viewed, that has made a travesty of the film and a mediocrity of the book...."

Daily Worker, November 17, 1955, p. 6.

"But, the social truth is that the writer of honest art for audiences of twenty million is in collision with the dominant social and political ideologies of the big business forces which pay for this culture. There is the hunger of the nation for genuine art, for a sense of its dignity, beauty and for the tragic purgation which gives meaning and direction to its life. There are the calculations of the hucksters for whom this art is nothing but the bait with which to trap the market for soap, cosmetics, vacuum cleaners, razor blades and canned beer. There is the artist himself, the hired hand, who knows, or finds out quickly, that his art creations must be moulded within the fixed limits of an arbitrary series of social values dictated 'from above' in many mysterious ways. These are the elements of the social and aesthetic struggle—for it takes an aesthetic form no less than a political or social one—which are observable in this battle for a new humanist—democratic decade in American culture."

Milton Howard, "Marty,"
Masses & Mainstream, October, 1955, p. 54.

3. Science in America

"Scientific progress has been severely handicapped by political repression in our country..."

"It is to be hoped that the improved atmosphere created by the Four-Power Geneva Conference, and so quickly extended to the scientific field by the conference on the peaceful use of atomic energy, also held in Geneva, will develop fully and rapidly in our country."

Philip M. Tilden, "Comment on the Svetchnikov Article," Political Affairs, November, 1955, p. 54.

"The field of education in the U.S. is another neat example of the direct pressure of socialist achievement on creaky capitalism. The inability of a private enterprise to work out an educational system to meet the needs of the atomic age is nowhere more clearly revealed than in the U.S. Non-existent social status and low pay for almost all the teachers, and science teachers in particular, along with the anti-intellectual virus which is rampant in the society, have brought the country with the highest technical development to a secondary position (behind the Soviet Union) in training new engineers and scientists. The belated recognition of this startling situation is again beginning to force reluctant changes in the U.S. educational system."

Daily Worker, November 8, 1955, p. 5.

4. Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy

"...it is almost unbelieveable to note that not until now could it be reported that for the first time an atomic power-producing reactor is to be built which will be devoted entirely to medical purposes."

"Primary assignment of the reactor will be research and experimentation into the possible uses of atomic energy for the treatment of various cancers. This is a field of tremendous promise, for the relief of cancers which have failed to respond to all other forms of therapy.

"Up to now, with the major resources of atomic energy research directed at production of bombs, it is a field in which the surface has barely been scratched."

"It is encouraging that at last a start is being made in the construction of a medical atomic reactor in Los Angeles, but it is only a start. The job cannot be done unless we stop treating atomic medicine as a very poor relation to atomic destruction."

Daily Worker, September 8, 1955, p. 6.

XI. WOMEN

- 1. Mothers who work do so because of financial necessity.
- 2. More women should hold offices in labor unions.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Working Mothers

"How brazenly hypocritical it is to tell mothers to end the neglect of their children by ceasing to work and spending more time at home. Most mothers work not out of neglect of their children but so that their children will have adequate food, clothing and shelter...."

Robert Fogel, "The 'Juvenile Delinquency' Issue in New York State," Party Voice, 1955, No. 8, p. 6.

2. Women in Labor Unions

"...Although the trade unions have probably four or more million women members, it is on the whole a movement led by men. There are practically no women leaders in the top officialdom; a tiny percentage at the middle-line level and a relatively small number in office at the local level. To most women the trade union looks like a 'stag' affair.

"THE PROBLEM of women in the trade union movement are often neglected or handled wrongly. Wage and other type of discrimination is still widespread."

"The backwardness of the unions on the 'woman question' gives the enemies of unionism an excellent opening...."

The Worker, September 11, 1955, pp. 2, 12.

XII. YOUTH

- 1. The majority of our children are economically underprivileged and are maturing after a decade of "reaction."
- 2. Juvenile delinquency is a social problem, rather than a problem of individual parents.
- 3. Financial insecurity, which requires parents to work, and the cold war are responsible for juvenile delinquency.
- 4. Improved housing, recreational facilities and social welfare services will reduce juvenile delinquency.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Today's Youth

"Government statistics make clear that today a majority of our children are growing up in families and in areas unable to provide them with even the barest essentials—excluding such obviously disadvantaged groups as migrant farmers and those in employment that is not covered by minimum wage laws.

"... However, so long as the above social conditions prevail and parents are thus rendered insecure and their children likewise, children cannot remain impervious to violence in any aspect of our cultural life...."

The Worker, December 18, 1955, p. 10.

"Nevertheless, reaction has held the upper hand for a decade, exerting the decisive influence in American life, shaping the mentality of the nation and especially of the younger generation. The younger people, who

neither lived through the ferment of the thirties nor felt first hand the world achievement of the victorious war against fascism, and have experienced mostly the reactionary aftermath in this country, grapple with life from premises which stand in direct contradiction to the best in the American heritage. The entire system of public education and of higher learning, the mass media of communication and entertainment, as well as the arts and the sciences, are permeated with the obscurantist ideas of the intellectual underworld, while ideas of enlightenment and progress must fight for recognition."

James S. Allen, "Democratic Revival and the Marxists," Masses & Mainstream, October, 1955, pp. 3-4.

2. Juvenile Delinquency

"...It is a hundred year old secret that capitalism has had a shattering effect on the family. Unlike feudalism which tended to strengthen the family both as an economic and social unit, capitalism splits it asunder. Mothers and children as well as fathers are drawn into industry. Not only are children deprived of the care and attention of their parents, but they themselves are usually drawn into production under such conditions as to deprive them of the time, opportunity and strength for adequate education, recreation, or the proper development of family relations. Moreover the younger the person is the more menial, temporary, unstable and frustrating is his job likely to be. Hired one day and on the street the next....

"What is wrong with much of the current writing on the subject is that it has taken the question of the break-up of the family and converted it from a social problem of capitalism into a problem of individual parents-of 'good' and 'bad' parents...Of course there are some neglectful and irresponsible parents. But the main pre-occupation of most working-class parents is the hard problem of how to keep their heads above water economically."



"The whole situation has, of course, been severely aggravated by the heavy atmosphere of uncertainty created by the cold war. This, taken together with the economic factor, has undoubtedly combined and found reflection in all kinds of emotional and psychological pressures in the family.

"In the fight to alleviate juvenile delinquency there is undoubtedly room for family guidance services, for the psychiatrist and other medical services. But these things will have little meaning unless they are put into a vast program of the expansion of public nursery schools for younger children and properly staffed recreational centers for older ones, into a program for job training, slum clearance, higher wages and above all into the framework of a fight for peace."

"Perhaps the most ominous aspect of the picture is the increase in serious crimes committed by youth..."

"It is the cold war which explains the fact that one of the hall-marks of today's delinquency problem is a type of youthful violence and brutality that shocks the consciousness of millions of Americans, young and old alike."

"The connection between the cold war and the delinquency problem is unmistakable..."

Robert Fogel, "The 'Juvenile Delinquency' Issue in New York State," Party Voice, 1955, No. 8, pp. 6, 7.